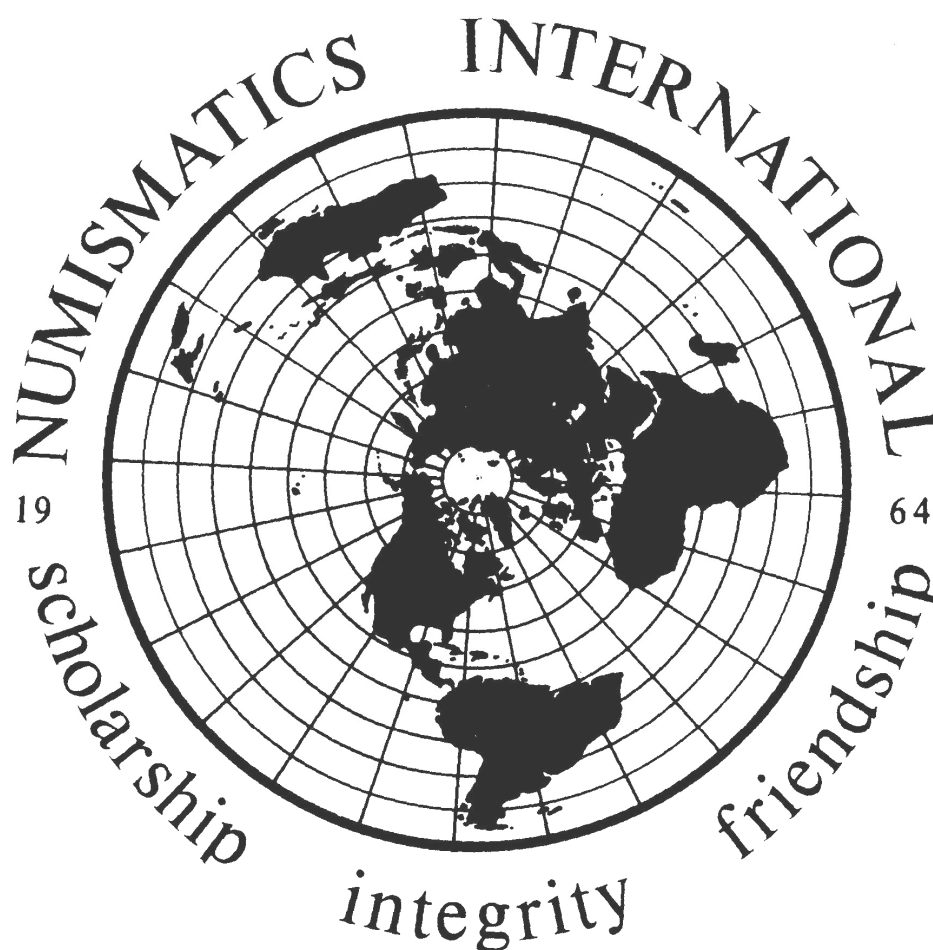


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## **Trial Strikes Surface in Colombia** **Based on an article by Dr. Jorge Restrepo**

In the recent auction (sale number 4a, 24 November 2006) conducted by B & C Subastas in Bogotá there were some trial strikes offered. One of these was a 10,000 peso commemorative "Encuentro de Dos Mundos" sold earlier this year by Alexander Montaña and two groups of three pieces each, 5 peso 1989 and 10 peso 1989, the later 6 pieces previously unreported.



**Trial strike 10,000 Peso 1992 (40mm diameter)**

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To celebrate the 5<sup>th</sup> centenary of the Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, Spain led an association of 14 Ibero-American nations to assemble a set of commemorative coins. Each nation (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Uruguay and Venezuela) designed, prepared dies and struck their own coins. The Colombian 10,000 peso is sterling silver (0.925) has a diameter of 40mm, a mass of 27g and produced in a proof finish.

When a trial strike of this type surfaced earlier this year it generated lively discussions in the Colombian numismatic fraternity, particularly concerning which mint produced it. Ignacio Alberto Henao, who is the Numismatic Adviser to the Bank of the Republic, clarified the issue by speaking with Mr. Ernesto Calderón who was assistant director of the mint (Ibague, Colombia) and in charge of production for many years. Mr. Calderón related that although the "Encuentro de Dos Mundos" project was coordinated by Spain, each participant country was charged to design and to produce its own coins. The mint of Ibague originated the design, made the dies and coined the Colombian pieces, under the supervision of Mr. Calderón, and then they were sent soon to Spain for their commercialization. Mr. Henao showed Mr. Calderon one piece similar to the one illustrated above. Mr. Calderón commented that it was one of the trial strikes produced in alpacca (a white metal alloy), which under no circumstances was suppose to leave the mint. Undoubtedly it left by the "backdoor."

The issued pieces are in silver with a proof finish. We know of four trial pieces, all different. There are three in white metal which could be alpacca or copper-nickel, one of these has the reverse alignment inverted. The fourth piece is coined in silver, but is not a "proof."

**Colombia 5 peso and 10 peso  
1989 trial strikes  
Yellow metal, white metal and  
red metal**

Their appearance in this auction marks the first time that these trial strikes have made a "public appearance," we assume that these too left the Ibague mint by the "backdoor." With the exception of the metal, these trial strikes resemble the issued pieces. The issued 5 peso coins are 17mm diameter with a mass of 2.66g. They have a yellow color and composition of 92% copper, 6% aluminum and 2% nickel. The issued 10 peso coin has a diameter of 18.5mm, a mass of 3.2g and made of alpacca with a composition of 65% copper, 20% zinc and 15% nickel. Both the 5 & 10 peso coins have reeded edges. All images courtesy of B & C Subastas.



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# **The Gold and Silver Wraps of the Edo Period**

## **A Unique Form of Gold and Silver Coins**

**Kenjiro Yamaguchi & Mari Ohnuki**

Currency Museum, Institute for Monetary and Economic Studies, Bank of Japan

*Continued from December 2006 NI Bulletin*

### **3. Kinds and Forms of the Gold and Silver Wraps**

The wraps were packed in traditional Japanese paper and sealed with the preparer's stamp. On the obverse, the name of the preparer, the amount included, and the date of wrapping were written with a brush to certify their value. According to the types of the preparer, the wraps can be classified roughly into four groups: Goto tsutsumi, Joze tsutsumi, Ginza tsutsumi (Silver Mint wraps) and Ryogaeya tsutsumi. The gold wrap was solely provided by the Gold Mint and was generally called Goto tsutsumi (Goto wraps). As for silver coins, there were the Joze tsutsumi and the Ginza tsutsumi before 1776 when the Shogunate government began to issue the silver coins by tally, while silver coins such as Chogin (silver slugs) and Mameitagin (bean-shaped silver coins) were valued by weight. The Daikoku Joze family, a hereditary master of the Ginza Mint, minted Chogin and Mameitagin and prepared the silver wraps by weight. These were known as Joze tsutsumi and usually consisted of Gohyaku mom'me gin tsutsumi (five hundred-mom'me silver wraps) and the wraps of so many pieces of silver coins. Another wrap for silver coins by tally is called Ginza tsutsumi. As was mentioned before, as Joze refused to be engaged in the business of minting and wrapping silver coins by tally, the officers of the Silver Mint minted and wrapped silver coins by tally thereafter. This wrap is called Ginza tsutsumi.

Ryogaeya tsutsumi were prepared by the major money changers. To ensure their value, the money changers voluntarily set the wrapping and sealing rules up until the Meireki period (1655-1661) and obeyed them strictly. Initially money changer wraps for gold and silver coins were wrapped and sealed by the major money changers and the quasi-major money changers, but as time went by the medium and small money changers, who were not governed by the wrapping rules established by the major money changers, began wrapping in fairly discretionary forms. Particularly around the end of the Edo Period, small money changers wrapped and sealed a large number of wraps for small values, less than five ryo of gold or several mom'me of silver. Details of these types of the wraps are as follows.

#### **(1) The Goto tsutsumi (Goto wraps)**

It was only the Goto family that engaged in the appraisal of and imprinting of seals on gold coins throughout the Edo Period. While the Gold Mint was responsible for minting gold coins, the Goto family was in charge of the process of finishing and issuing gold coins (including imprinting seals, and wrapping and sealing) independently of the Gold Mint. The Goto family was at the same time the director of the Gold Mint. It is not clear from the existing documents how the Goto tsutsumi were wrapped and sealed. There are no Goto tsutsumi in existence. The Goto tsutsumi were prepared in the following three cases.

(A) When money was newly minted.

The newly minted gold coins were wrapped and sealed by the Goto family and then delivered to the Shogunate vault.

(B) When payments to the Shogunate government were made.

The Shogunate government sold the rice tribute in the commercial city of Osaka, and the proceeds of gold coins were supplied with Goto tsutsumi. Furthermore all the contributions and fees to the Shogunate government were paid in Goto tsutsumi.

From the Genroku period (the end of the 17th century) onward, recoinages were repeatedly conducted. The old coins that were exchanged for new ones were rewrapped (after confirming their substance) successively by general money changers, major money changers and the Goto family. They were finally delivered by the Goto family to the Shogunate government and stored in the Shogunate vault.

(C) When donations to the Shogunate government and the Gifts from the Shogunate were made.

Donations from feudal lords to the Shogunate could be made by Ryogaeya tsutsumi as well as Goto tsutsumi. But in many cases the feudal lords tried to use Goto tsutsumi. On the other hand, the money bestowed by the Shogunate government on the feudal lords and their direct vassals was wrapped exclusively by the Goto family.

## **(2) The Joze tsutsumi (Joze Wraps)**

It was the Daikoku Joze family that engaged in wrapping and sealing silver coins at the Silver Mint. This wrap was known as Joze tsutsumi. Joze tsutsumi were classified into two types: Mekata tsutsumi (Weight wraps) and Mai tsutsumi (Piece wraps). Most weight wraps were five hundred mom'me. Hashita tsutsumi (Fractional wraps), wraps of several or dozens of mom'me of silver, were also prepared for low value transactions. The Mai tsutsumi, used for ceremonies, were wrapped and sealed with descriptions such as "one silver piece" or "two silver pieces", based the equivalence of one piece to forty- three mom'me of silver. The usage of Joze tsutsumi was closely related to the Shogunate government and the same is largely true for Goto tsutsumi.

Incidentally, there remains a record of the number of Joze tsutsumi prepared during the Tenmei-Kansei periods (1787-1792), as shown in Table 1. As the Nanryo Nishugin (Nanryo two-shu silver coins) were minted in Meiwa 9 (1772) and the wrapping and sealing authority for silver coins by tally was shifted to the Silver Mint, the number of Joze tsutsumi was on the steady decline thereafter as the minting volume of silver coins by weight such as Chogin (silver slugs) decreased.

The main features of Joze tsutsumi are summarized as follows, based on a detailed study by Hirokichi Taya:

The process was conducted by five officers, whose tasks were divided into eight categories: Ginmi Yaku, Kake Yaku, Tsutsumi Yaku, Kuchihari Yaku, Uwagaki

Yaku, Imban Yaku, Uwa'atari Yaku and Tachiai Yaku (some officers had more than one function).

Ginmi Yaku examined the substance of the silver wraps paid to the Shogunate government etc. Kake Yaku handed a certain number of silver coins to Tsutsumi Yaku after adding some small silver coins in accordance with the rules. Small silver coins were added in advance to satisfy the demand for fractional currency, and as a general practice one mom'me was added to the Gohyaku mom'me tsutsumi (five hundred mom'me wrap) and 0.2 mom'me to the Ichimai tsutsumi (one-piece wraps).

Tsutsumi Yaku wrapped silver using four sheets of traditional Japanese paper. Kuchihari Yaku glued up the wrap. Uwagaki Yaku wrote the content of the wrap on the obverse, e.g. <silver, five hundred mom'me>, <silver, one piece>, <silver, twelve mom'me seven bu>, etc. He also wrote the name of the person making the payment to the Shogunate government.

Imban Yaku stamped a seal bearing the Japanese character for "treasure" at the pasted joint of the wrapping paper. On the reverse, the following seals were stamped: the seal of Daikoku Joze beside the month and day, the seal of Daikoku, and a subsidiary seal of the real name. An additional seal was stamped after the final check in the presence of witnesses. Uwa'atari Yaku weighed the wrap once again, and Tachiai Yaku checked the whole wrap to avoid possible missing seals and wrong descriptions.

### **(3) Ginza tsutsumi (Silver Mint wraps)**

After Meiwa 9 (1772), when the mintage of silver coins by tally started, the business of wrapping and sealing of silver coins shifted to the Silver Mint Office. This type of wrap for silver coins by tally was called Ginza tsutsumi. The Joze tsutsumi for silver coins by weight continued to be prepared, but with the expansion of the issue of silver coins by tally, their volume gradually declined as shown in Table 2.

There is no document available to tell us specifically how Ginza tsutsumi were prepared but there are a few samples in existence.

### **(4) Ryogaeya tsutsumi (Money Changer wraps)**

Ryogaeya tsutsumi for gold and silver coins were prepared by money changers. Among them, those wrapped and sealed by major money changers of high reputation were called Nakama tsutsumi (Guild wraps) or To'ori tsutsumi (Accommodation wraps). The Ryogaeya tsutsumi were used in the following way.

(A) Payments of Gold and Silver remittances to the Shogunate government.

To ease the cost and risk involved in transporting cash acquired by the selling of tribute rice in Osaka to Edo, in Genroku 4 (1691) the Tokugawa Shogunate government established the Money Remittance System, under which remitted money was finally presented to the Shogunate vault in the form of Ryogaeya tsutsumi.

## (B) Delivering of old coins to the Shogunate Vault

From Genroku 8 (1695) onwards, gold and silver coins were frequently reminted and the exchange of old and new money on a massive scale was thus carried out every time. This exchange business was mainly conducted by major money changers in Edo and Osaka and the old coins collected were repaid to the Shogunate vault in the form of Ryogaeya tsutsumi.

## (C) Nakama tsutsumi, To'ori tsutsumi (Guild wraps, Accommodation wraps)

Nakama tsutsumi, To'ori tsutsumi were prepared solely to settle transactions between major money changers of the guilds in Edo and in Osaka. But these wraps presumably came to be used as a medium of payment between merchants.

According to guild rules, Nakama tsutsumi had special features, for example wraps used among members were limited to Nakama tsutsumi, To'ori tsutsumi, and the additions required to match the gold and silver coins to their face values were made collectively by twice-yearly adjustments.

## (D) Wrapping and Sealing by small Money Changers

Small money changers wrapped and sealed gold and silver at their discretion without specific arrangements. These wraps are called Machi tsutsumi (Town wraps), and the number of preparers of these wraps and the number of the wraps themselves were quite large. Most of the gold and silver wrap samples in existence are Machi tsutsumi.

## Summary

In this paper, we have summarized the usage, history, and types of the wraps used in the Edo Period mainly as a large-value settlement medium. Our argument can be summarized thus:

First, wraps were originally prepared by the Gold and Silver Mints of the Tokugawa Shogunate government in the early Edo Period. Gold and silver coins were wrapped to reduce the costs of appraising and weighing silver generated by each transaction. In the latter half of the 18th century, the Shogunate government began to issue a type of silver coin, set a counting system for silver coins by tally, and accordingly, the necessity of weighing silver coins declined. Fewer and fewer wraps of weighed silver were thus prepared. By the middle of the 19th century, not only large money exchangers but middle and small money changers had also started to prepare wraps with various forms and face amounts. Small wraps were prepared as time went by and thus wraps were used for settlement not only of large transactions but also of small ones.

Secondly, the wraps were classified into the following five (*sic*) categories: Goto tsutsumi, prepared by the Mint master of Gold Mint; Joze tsutsumi, prepared by Daikokuya Joze office, who engaged in minting and appraising silver at the Silver Mint; Ginza tsutsumi, and Ryogaeya tsutsumi. Even after the Meiji Restoration, wraps continued to be used, but as the new "yen" or "sen" denominations were



introduced by the "New Currency Act" enacted in Meiji 4 (1871) and currency with these new denominations became prevalent, the use of wraps ceased.

Most samples of wraps in existence were Machi tsutsumi which were prepared by middle and small money changers at the end of the Edo Period and, other than these, there are a few Joze tsutsumi and Ryogaeya tsutsumi still in existence.

Gold and silver wraps were prepared by the government or the merchants and circulated for about 300 years because: 1. they reduced the troublesome tasks of weighing and appraising; 2. those who prepared them were trusted because of their political and economic status; 3. frequent transactions involving large sums of money from developing industry. We conclude that the economy was greatly developed in the Edo Period.

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Table 1: Changes of the Number of *Joze tsutsumi* (Joze Wraps)

	<i>Gohyaku mom'me Tsutsumi (Five hundred mom'me wraps)</i>	<i>Hashita Tsutsumi (Fractional Silver wraps)</i>	<i>Mai tsutsumi (Silver Piece wraps)</i>
Year	wraps ( <i>kanme</i> )	wraps	pieces
Tenmei 7 (1787)	16,880 (8,440.0)	2,030	Average 5,268
Tenmei 8 (1788)	12,379 (6,189.5)	2,819	
Kansei 1 (1789)	8,175 (4,087.5)	2,486	
Kansei 2 (1790)	9,194 (4,597.0)	2,171	
Kansei 3 (1791)	8,670 (4,335.0)	1,721	
Kansei 4 (1792)	4,052 (2,026.0)	886	11,918
Average	9,892 (4,945.8)	2,019	6,376

Sources:

*Japanese Coins*, Vol 3, p. 321

*A Study of the Silver Mint in the Edo Period*, p. 141

Table 2: Volume of Silver Coins Issued during the Bunsei and Tempō periods.

Silver coins by tally (Period of Circulation)	Silver coins by weight (Period of Circulation)
<i>Bunsei Nanryo Nishugin</i> (1824-1842) 7,587 thousand <i>ryo</i>	<i>Bunsei Chogin, Mameitagin</i> (1820-1842) 3,749 thousand <i>ryo</i> (224,982 kan)
<i>Tempo Ichibugin</i> (1837-1874) 19,729 thousand <i>ryo</i>	<i>Tempo Chogin, Mameitagin</i> (1837-1868) 3,035 thousand <i>ryo</i> (182,108 kan)

Sources:

"Table of the Amount of Mintage and the Circulation Period of Old Money," *The Second Ministry of Finance Circular*, No. 6.

Note: Converted to *ryo* with the equivalence of one *ryo* = sixty *mom'me*.

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## A New Discovery in German East Africa Coinage

Howard Ford NI #LM90

A dealer in New York State has reported the recent discovery of a coin of German East Africa which bears a date that was not previously known to exist. It is a 5 Heller 1912-J, an issue of the Hamburg Mint in Germany. Furthermore, the coin is a very choice specimen, and it appears to be a proof striking!

Hamburg made a very large number of the 5 Heller. They were made in 1908 and 1909 in both BU and Proof, and all the issues came from Hamburg. These were examples of the large and very attractive bronze 5 Heller, KM11. The 5 Heller was not made at all in 1910 or 1911 or, as we had previously thought, 1912.

The 5 Heller appeared again in 1913, issued from both Berlin and Hamburg, in both BU and Proof. In 1914 Hamburg again issued BUs and Proofs. The 1913-14 issues are a new type of 5 Heller, KM13, a smaller coin, made of copper-nickel, and having a center whole.

We can make a reasonable guess at what happened to create a mystery coin that was to show up 93 years later. The production of KM11 was over and done with as of 1909. By 1912, demand for a 5 Heller was probably growing, so Germany decided to strike the denomination again, but not as a large bronze coin. They would strike it as a small copper-nickel piece. Trial strikes would have had to have been made almost certainly, and that is where this new discovery came into production. In 1913 Berlin and Hamburg struck 1,000,000 pieces each, and in 1914 Hamburg struck 1,000,000 more; but in 1912 they were just experimenting with the metal and the design.

The dealer who found this coin advertises it as "extremely rare & possibly unique...." He prices it, incidentally, at \$4,500.

*NI*

**Personalities on Coins of Africa and Asia**  
**Norman Bethune**  
**Howard Ford NI #LM90**

The Chinese 10 Yuan 1998 silver commemorative, Y-727, is a portrait coin; but it does not show the portrait of any native of Asia. Rather it shows the face of a Canadian doctor, Henry Norman Bethune, who selflessly traveled to China in 1938 because he had learned that there were not enough medical men in China to care for the wounded suffering from Japanese attacks. Bethune linked up with Mao's 8th Route Army in the mountainous west, developing mobile hospital units which could carry dressings for many, many wounded and supplies for many operations but which could still be moved through the mountains on the back of just one or two horses or mules. While operating on a Chinese soldier, Bethune, having no surgical gloves, cut himself, contracted blood poisoning, and died in 1939. He was buried in Shijiazhuang, Hebei Province (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/normanbethune>). On China's commemorative coin for Bethune, which is shown immediately below, to the right of the portrait there is a scene from a famous Chinese painting which shows Bethune, the Medical Chief of the Communist Army, performing an operation under difficult wartime conditions.



Chinese Commemorative Coin

Mao wrote an essay honoring Norman Bethune, noting his unselfish dedication to serving others. Some sources say that all of China's schoolchildren were required to read and memorize it. Others say it was required reading for all Chinese citizens, and indeed it was one of the three documents which citizens were required to know in the Cultural Revolution. Near the site of his burial, China built a medical school and a hospital. Also, a pavilion and a museum honor Bethune. Several statues were erected for him, and he is believed to be the only Westerner so honored in Red China (<http://www.collectionscanada.ca/cool/00207-2102-e.html>).

The Chinese coin appeared in a boxed set with a silver Canadian \$5 1998, KM316, which shows Bethune, several Chinese soldiers and two pack animals on march through the mountains. Where Bethune is concerned, Canada and China seem always willing to cooperate.



Canadian Commemorative Coin

Bethune's life was devoted to serving mankind. Early in World War I he joined the Ambulance Corps, and was wounded. Back home, he recovered, finished his medical degree, then joined the British navy and was assigned primarily to care for Canadian airmen. After the war, he visited the Soviet Union, where he saw a national health care program in operation. Back home he campaigned for a program of health care for all. He also developed or refined several medical instruments which bore his name, some of which are still in common use today. He then left to work on the side opposing the Fascists in the Spanish Civil War in 1936. Here he developed mobile blood transfusion clinics, using trucks which could operate over a front of 1000 kilometers; these and the mobile hospitals which he employed in China served as forerunners of the MASH units of television fame. His life was the subject of a 1977 television special, in which he was portrayed by Donald Sutherland, who again played Bethune in 1990 in a longer TV production, the combined effort of four communications companies: two Canadian, one French and one Chinese. In 2006, China produced a 20-part TV series on Bethune, at a cost of US \$3,750,000, which was the costliest programming ever in China to that time (<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com>).

Bethune's was a life lived well. It was a particularly remarkable life considering that he almost died of tuberculosis while still in his thirties. He was saved by a new technique for the treatment of the disease (the collapsing of one or both lungs), and this led to his becoming a thoracic surgeon (<http://webspaces.oanet.com/jaywhy/Bethune.htm>). In Montreal he worked for the poor, saw their difficulties in getting full medical attention, and began to campaign for socialized medicine. Although he was one of Canada's most famous and influential doctors, he gave up everything to work for those who needed him most in the Spanish Civil War and in World War II China. He is a member of his country's Medical Hall of Fame, and he has been voted one of Canada's most distinguished men (*wikipedia*).

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**Money Not Meant for Everyone**  
**Coins and Notes for Leprosarium Use**  
**Stewart Westdal (Ponterio & Associates NI #1221)**

Generally coins and notes are intended for the use of an entire population of a country or region for everyday transactions but there are exceptions; separate monies have long been in use for military personnel in their own lands and other countries, prisons, prisoner of war camps, etc., and local issues for special reasons. Leprosarium or leper colony token coinages and notes filled particular needs and functions in many lands, in large part due to the public dread of possibly contacting the disease by handling money used in these hospitals or asylums; these items have only recently been thoroughly researched and reported, giving us much needed information about this collecting area.

I am by no means an authority on these particular issues; I am utilizing three numismatic references for this article, namely "The Numismatic Aspects of Leprosy - Money, Medals and Miscellanea" by Roger McFadden, John Grost and Dennis Marr (hereafter referred to as "NAL"), and from Krause Publications the "Standard Catalog of World Coins for the 19th Century" and "1901 to Present" and the "Standard Catalog of World Paper Money, Specialized Issues." NAL is a well researched study with extensive background material on the token coinages and notes issued with illustrations of varieties and mintages where available as well as medals relating to institutions or persons and organizations associated with treatment of this ailment. The standard catalogs are primarily listings and price guides of the individual pieces. Fourteen countries are noted as having special token coinages and/or notes for use in institutions set apart from the general public for the care and treatment of Hansen's disease; to be consistent with the references noted above, I will retain the earlier name of leprosy.

Taking the countries where leper colony monies were used in alphabetical order. Brazil had two locations with token coinages, one being the Colonia Santa Teresa which issued brass tokens of 100, 200, 300, 500 and 1000 Reis when the institute was established in 1940 on Santa Catarina Island. These pieces have the denomination on one side and "C.S.T." on the other, the diameters range from 20 to 27 millimeters and all are rare. A small hoard of several dozen sets appeared on the market a few years ago and the prices being paid for the sets dropped quite a bit; prices have risen again when it became apparent that the quantity of new material was quite small and are still rare. The Santa Casa de Misericordia produced a brass token coinage in about 1920 of 100, 200, 500, 1000 & 5000 reis; each has the denomination (i.e. "1.00" for "100", etc.) with the name around, the reverses have "Hospito/Lazareto"; these pieces are quite rare. Two other colonies, Colonia de Lazaropolis do Prata, reportedly utilized token coinage but no items are known to have been used or even produced.

The Peoples Republic of China has hundreds of treatment centers for leprosy but few tokens are recorded and only 1 note, these being from the Quinhu Leprosy Hospital in Jiangsu Province. Plastic tokens exist for 1, 5, 10 & 50 Fen and 1 Yuan (in lavender, light blue, dark blue, colorless and painted red); the note is a cardboard coupon for 1 Tael of rice.

Colombia had four different token coinage issues for the Agua de Dios, Cano de Loro and Contratacion colonies; the general designs had a Maltese cross, text, date or denomination on one side, the other having the date or denomination and name. The first issue was 1901 of bronze 2-1/2, 5, 10, 20 & 50 Centavos; all are scarce to rare. The second issue, 1907, of 1, 5 & 10 Pesos, does not have the Maltese cross and range from very scarce to rare. The third issue, of 1921, again has the Maltese cross on the 1, 2, 5, 10 & 50 Centavos; these are common in low grade: the and last issue, 1928, has only the 50 Centavos of the same design and NAL has a chart indicating numerous varieties for this coin. These colonies were closed in the 1950's and patients were allowed to exchange their lazareto coinage for "real money."

Cost Rica produced three token coinage issues for El Sanitario Nacional de las Mercedes, 25 & 50 Centimos and 1 Colon in both 1935 and 1937 plus 1942 issue of 5 Centimos. These were regular coinage pierced by holes ranging from 4 to 9 millimeters across; other pieces, possibly patterns or fantasies, exist with holes of 15 millimeters as well as the removed "plugs."

The Danish West Indies established the St. Croix Leper Asylum in the early 1900's with the last patient leaving in 1958; a single brass 5 Bit Token has been reported but no records of production or actual use are known. (*See related article on page 15 – ed.*)

Hawaii is well known for its leprosarium on Molokai which was founded in 1866. Only two fiscal items are known for Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement, these being a Special Rations Ticket on pink paper and a Ration Bill "for (fill in the blank) dollars of goods...." on blue paper.

Japan has 13 national and 3 private sanitariums treating about 8,000 patients of leprosy but the use of special money by patients was abolished in 1955. The Nagashima-aisei en sanitarium produced and used token coinage between 1931 and 1948 and known to the authors of NAL are an oval Sen (Japanned brass) & round Sen (Japanned aluminum), round 5 and 10 Sen (Japanned brass, and a 10 Sen in Japanned aluminum), round 50 Sen (Japanned brass) and an oval Yen in brass; uniface 1 and 5 Yen notes are also exist. The national facility of Oku-komyo en issued 50 Sen and 1 & 5 Yen notes on off-white, pink & off-white cardboard between 1933 and 1955 (only 3 pieces known). Oshima-Seisho en issued a series of brass 1, 5, 10 & 50 Sen pieces between circa 1912 and 1925; the first two are round, the others elliptical and rectangular and Tama-zensei en evidently had or planned paper issues of 1 (3 different), 5, 20, 50 and 100 Yen; only 2 notes are confirmed known. All of the Japanese items are rare. (*Here "Japanned" means lacquer coated—ed.*)

In Korea, the Biederwolf Leper Colony, founded in 1909, produced paper notes of 1 Sen (white paper) and 50 Sen (red paper) in about 1941; only 1 of each are known to exist.

Malaysia is the home of the Sungei Buloh Settlement which opened in 1930. In 1935, a fairly plain 5 Cent note was produced with English on the front and Malay, Tamil and Chinese on the back, in 1936 more elaborate 5 & 10 Cents and Dollar notes were placed in use; all notes were supposedly burned in 1938, survivors are rare. In 1960, a

series of "gambling" tokens of 5, 10 & 50 Cents and 1 & 5 Dollars came into use, the 5 Cents in plastic and the others in colored aluminum. The Tampoi Camp in Johore reportedly had a currency of minor denominations in the 1930's, but none are known.

Nigeria has the Garkida Leper Colony which was formed in 1929 and brass tokens of 1 Pence were in use there during 1944-45; the tokens have "VIRGWI/1D" stamped on one side, the other is blank. NAL considers them "scarce and know of only seven in this country."

The Palo Seco Leper colony opened in the Panama Canal Zone in 1907 and is today the Palo Seco Hospital. Between 1919 and 1925, a variety of metal coinage was produced, being 1 & 5 Cents in brass with square holes, 10, 25 & 50 Cents and Dollars in aluminum with round holes; the hospital name was one side, the denomination on the other. Mintage figures are 2000 for the 1 Cent and 1000 for each of the other denominations. The value of this issue was \$1,920 US and no additional coins are known to have been minted. In 1955, \$1,492.75 in face value was destroyed by melting and then thrown into the sea. NAL knows of 4-5 sets in the USA.

The Philippines is the home of the famous Culion Leper Colony which, between 1917 and 1927, produced six issues of token coinage, the first 1913 with 1/2, 1, 5, 10 & 20 Centavos and 1 Peso was released and in 1922 a 20 Centavos and 1 Peso were produced in copper-nickel. 1925 brought new designs - bust of Jose Rizal/arms of the Philippines into use with a copper-nickel Peso and 1927 brought new 1 & 2 Centavos in copper-nickel, with the busts of Mabibi and Rizal respectively; again, varieties exists. In 1930, 1 & 20 Centavos were struck in copper-nickel by the Philippine Health Service/Leper Colonies and Stations and in 1942, the Culion Leper Colony issued a series of 1, 5, 20 & 50 Centavos and 1, 5 & 20 Pesos notes, the first three either with or without the "By Authority...." phrase on the back; these notes are fairly common.

The McKean Leprosy Hospital was founded in Thailand during 1908 and exists today as the McKean Rehabilitation Institute. From 1908 to about 1950, a number of Satang coins were defaced (with a chisel?) to produce pieces with "cross/square", "square/plain" and "H/plain" designs; these were supposedly destroyed in 1950 as were a pink note of 50 Satang & a green 1 Baht note; none have survived and descriptions are unavailable.

Venezuela had Cabo Blanco as an issuer of brass 0.05, 0.125, 0.50, 1, 2, 5, 10 & 20 Bolivares - considered as scarce to rare and the Lazareto Maracaibo issued copper 1887 1/4 Reales & 1898 1/8 Bolivares, followed in 1913 by a brass series of 5 Centimos, 0.05, 1/8, 1/2, 1, 2, 10 & 20 Bolivares: a copper-nickel 1/8 Bolivar was also struck. 1916 brought the last issue above 0.50 Bolivares. These were withdrawn from use in 1940 and replaced by notes of 0.25, 0.50 1, 2 & 5 Bolivares, the last 3 each have 3 varieties, no series, "B" or "C." NAL says they have never seen the 0.25 & 0.50 Bolivar notes, the rest are considered scarce.

If you are interested in this topic I heartily suggest that you obtain a copy of "The Numismatic Aspects of Leprosy." It is well written, has lots of illustrations and many descriptions of coin/note varieties plus 80 pages more on medals, badges, etc.

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## Jayasimha II Jagadekamalla Nupam Mahajan

(Mr. Mahajan has a related article published in the November 2006 NI Bulletin. The present article was published in No. 160, 1999 of the Oriental Numismatic Society—ed.)



Figure 1

I acquired a gold coin which is shown in Figure 1. The coin weighs 3.72g and was likely issued in medieval southern India. This is a uniface gold coin with seven punches, four of which are prominent while three are partly struck, located at the border of the coin. The two prominent punch marks create two Shri alphabates in *Telugu-Kanarese* script which depicts lord Vishnu (it should be Laxmi). The third punch mark creates a triangular motif and the fourth punch mark represents Telugu-Kanarese inscription on this coin, which reads *Bhairava*. Two marks at the lower left and right corners represent lions (stylized) while the seventh punch mark at the lower left corner might represent the sun and moon.

The legend *Bhairava* on this coin could represent any of the followings:

1. The name of the ruler.
2. Title of the ruler.
3. Name of series/denomination of the coin.

The coins of somewhat similar fabric were issued by rulers of Western Chalukyas (specimen #85-99)<sup>1</sup>, later Chalukyas (specimen #109-110)<sup>1</sup>, Kalachuris of Kalyana (specimen #116-117)<sup>1</sup>, Telugu-Chodas (specimen #422-4301 and specimen #684-6862) and Yadavas of Devnagri (specimen #348)<sup>1</sup>. None of the above dynasties had a ruler named Bhairava nor had the ruler who assumed the title Bairava. Many Telugu-Choda chiefs ruling in Nellore region of modern Andhra Pradesh and Bolangir district of modern Orissa state of India issued coins in the name of Bhujabalas or Bhujavalas (literally *one with strong arms*). Telugu-Choda chiefs continued ruling in this area in 11th to 13th century under sovereignty of Western Chalukyas (of Kalayana) and minted coins with Telugu-Kanarese legend Bhuja. The coin of present discussion (Figure 1) has striking similarity and appeared to be executed in very similar style as the Bhujabala coins, except the different Telugu-Kanarese inscription. It is very tempting to postulate that a hitherto unknown Telugu-Choda chief or governor named Bhairava was a feudatory of Western Chalukyas and minted this coin showing royal his master's insignia/emblem. But due to lack of evidence for existence of such ruler (or title) named Bhairava in contemporary inscriptions, this coin can not be attributed to Telugu-Chodas.

The most common gold coins of south India were known as Pagoda, Varaha and Gadyana. All the three represent the same gold coin weighing approximately 3.2g to 3.36g (about 50-52 grains)<sup>3</sup>. The term Gadyana has been used to represent a gold coin of 48 rattis or approximately 5.2g in a famous book *Lilawati*, written by Bhaskaracharya<sup>4</sup>. No coin type is available today which exactly corresponds to the



standard of Lilavati. The term Gadyana was referenced first in AD 733 and continued to be referenced in inscriptions of Rashtrakutas, Gangas and Eastern Chalukya dynasties of south India<sup>1</sup>. Gadyana has also been referenced in inscriptions of Northern India where it was a gold coin weighing about 4.01g (32 gunjas or 62 grains)<sup>5</sup>. Gradually the weight of this coin was reduced and finally standardized as a gold coin of 3.2g to 3.36g by the 15th century. Gadyana, was minted extensively by the majority of south Indian dynasties during ancient and medieval times until the Vijayanagara period. These gold coins can be classified into various groups based on size and shape, symbols and emblems, dynasty, king, title, mint, tax and trade, denomination, commemoration and their combination with other coins<sup>6</sup>.

In the inscriptions of Kadamba dynasty of Goa, however, a reference has been made to the coin called Bhairava-gadyana<sup>7</sup>. These coins were known to have been in circulation in the second half of eleventh century. The Kadambas of Goa had established a distinct monetary system where specific attribution was possible because of the presence of the name or title of the ruler on the coins. The kings were known from various epigraphic records which also reveal the presence of three different Kadamaba families, Kadamabas of Goa, Hangal and Belur. Kadamba rulers of Goa minted coins depicting a finely executed portrait of a lion on obverse while Kadambas of Hangal minted coins showing the monkey god, Hanumana and artistic scrollwork on reverse. The Kadamba coins were one of the heaviest of all medieval Indian gold coinage. A gold coin of Jayakesin II was 89 grains or 5.75g<sup>8</sup>. The gold coins of Kadambas were maintained with remarkable accuracy throughout the reigns of rulers of this dynasty as can be seen in the coins of Jayakesi I and Soideva<sup>7,8</sup>.

It is almost certain that the coinage of Kadambas of Goa was initiated by Jayakeshi I (AD 1050-1078) who had taken up the Kanerese title *Shri-Malege-Bhairava* (Bhairava is another name of Lord Shiva)<sup>7</sup>. Some of his gold coins confirm this title as they bear the legend Shri Malege Bhairava, written in Devnagri script on the reverse of these gold coins<sup>7</sup>. These coins depict a lion or Gajasimha (a chimera of elephant and lion) on the obverse and weigh 76.5 grains or 4.94g. This opens the possibility that the coin of present discussion (Figure 1) is a Bhairava-gadyana, issued by Kadamba ruler Jayakeshi I. But, this appears to be a remote possibility as the coin shown above is uniface, lacks a portrait of any kind and is considerably lighter in weight (3.72g as compared to 4.94g). This excludes the likelihood of being part of the coinage of either of the Kadamba dynasties.

Jayasimha II Jagadekamalla (AD 1015-1042), an early ruler of Western Chalukya dynasty had assumed a title of Jagadeva (Lord of world). He minted large numbers of coins with different legends and emblems, ten such different types have already been studied in detail<sup>1</sup>. His coinage could be conveniently attributed due to the presence of any one of the legends like Sri Jayadeva, Sri Jagadeka, Jagadeka, Jagadeva or Jaya, on those coins. Some coins of Jayasimha depict a triangular motif which is attributed as "spearhead" (specimen #89-91)<sup>1</sup>, which is almost identical to the triangular motif depicted on the coin of present discussion, shown in Figure 1. Secondly, the coin of present discussion is very similar in fabric and weight to the gold coins of Jayasimha, as seen in the case of specimen #91 which also weighs 57.6 grains or 3.72g<sup>1</sup>. The weights of specimens #89 and #90 are not known. As the gold coins, Bhairava-gadyana were known to have been in circulation in the second half of eleventh

century, it is very compelling to propose that the coin shown in Figure 1 is a Bhairava-gadyana minted by Jayasimha Jagadekamalla. Possibly, the mintage of Bhairava-gadyanas was continued by his successors till the reign of Someshwara II (AD 1068-1076). Kadambas were known to be feudatories of Chalukyas and this explains the inscriptions of Kadambas where Bhairava-gadyanas were reported to be in circulation in the second half of the eleventh century.

Very likely, in the same tradition of many of the prominent south Indian dynasties, Rashtrakutas, Gangas and Eastern Chalukya, rulers of Western Chalukyas, Jayasimha Jagadekamalla and his successors also minted a gold coin called Bhairava Gadyana, with distinct emblem, a spearhead, of this illustrious dynasty.

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## Danish West Indies Leprosy Token

Andrés Yepes P.

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The Danish West Indies correspond to three islands of the Caribbean: St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix. Little is known of the leper hospitals in this zone of the Atlantic Ocean. We know of the foundation of the St. Croix Leper Asylum at the beginning of the 20th century, with a capacity for 92 patients, the last one discharged in 1958. In 1983 an article was published in the Danish Token Club Journal regarding the existence of a token with the legend: "LEPRA ASYLUM ST. CROIX" in the periphery and "5 bit" in center. Only

this single piece is known and we don't know whether it corresponds to a test piece, trial strike or fantasy that circulated in the asylum. It has a diameter of 27mm.

## **Early Tibet Forms of Money**

**Adam Green**

A research into the early Tibetan forms of money has resulted in the following excerpts.

Herodotus wrote in about 450 B.C.

"I will say something of the method by which the Indians got their large supplies of gold which enables them to bring to Persia the gold-dust...There are other Indians further north, round the city of Caspatyrus and in the country of Pactyica. These are the most warlike of the Indians tribes, and it is they who go out to fetch the gold for in this region there is a sandy desert. There is found in the desert a kind of ant of great size—bigger than a fox, though not as big as a dog. These creatures as they burrow underground throw up the sand in heaps...The sand has a rich content of gold, and this it is that the Indians are after when they make their expeditions into the desert....

"When the Indians reach the place where the gold is, they fill the bags they have brought with sand, and start for home again as fast as they can go....

"According to the Persians, most of the gold is got in the way I have described; they also mine a certain quantity—but not so much—within their own territory."

Bell in discussing the early history of Tibet, notes that Herodotus "tells of a rumor about a race of enormous ants that delved for gold in a country to the north-west of India. From time to time travelers attempted to steal the gold and to ride away with it, but the ants gave chase and killed them if they caught them. An explanation, which had found credence with some, is furnished by the gold diggers of Thok Jalling in western Tibet. The intense cold of this lofty tableland, aggravated by the violent winds that swept unceasingly over it, compel the Tibetan workmen to dig hunched up in their black yak-hair blankets. They are accompanied by their watchdogs. They would certainly pursue and attack the robbers after the manner described by Herodotus."

Although this paper deals with the metallurgy of Tibetan statutes, a research on the sources of silver and gold are recorded.

Silver mining has been recorded but was very limited. Silver for coinage was imported from China and from India. In the 16th century, silver for coinage was supplied in large quantities of Mexican silver by the Portuguese. The great Moghul emperor Akbar used surplus silver to trade with Tibet.

The mining of gold in Tibet has been recorded from time immemorial. Numerous references are cited on localities where gold mining occurs. It might be of interest to mention that Herodotus wrote in about 450 BC of the "gold-digging ants." The exact locality is unknown but it could be in Ladakh or in western Tibet. In any event gold placer mining has been going on for over 2,000 years. It is the source of the bulses of gold dust and gold in some solid form, both used as medium of exchange.

The article deals with the period 7th and 8th century AD

"In conclusion, there was a very lively trade between Tibet and the Arab Caliphate. Not only was material such as chain mail armor but also silk brocades and other products were imported into Tibet, while Tibetan musk, the most highly prized perfume of the Middle Ages, as well as gold and other things went West."

"On December 11, 640, the great minister Mgar Ston rtsan the "Conqueror" arrived at the Tang court with 5,000 ounces of gold and several hundred "precious baubles...the Tibetans were then discussing peace...another envoy, sent in the summer of 703, brought official gifts which included 1,000 horses and 2,000 ounces of gold."

Beckwith in discussing the Tibetan army in Turkistan in AD 729 stated,

"The famous Tibetan chain mail that protected Su-lu was well known to the T'ang historians, who described it as follows: 'The men and horses all wear chain mail armor. Its workmanship is extremely fine. It envelopes them completely, leaving openings only for the two eyes. Thus, strong bows and sharp swords cannot injure them.'"

Beckwith further comments that the Tibetan manufactured the armor themselves, just as they made the marvelous gold objects which they sent as gifts to the T'ang emperor.

"Moreover, although silver and gold were almost never coined in Tibet and China before modern times, standardized silver bullion was widely used for commercial purpose in these states during the Middle Ages."

Discussing burial customs of kings,

"If their Wang (queen or ruler) dies without leaving a daughter to succeed her on the throne, then the people of the country take care to collect gold coins, to get several millions, which they deliver to the family of the dead queen to buy a maiden and install her (on the throne)."

In discussing the royal tomb of King 'Bra-ghan-Idi'u (father of Srong-btsan-Gam-po) quoting,

"In each of the eight sections, in each of the copper vessels, there were four loads of gold dust, as much as a man can carry."

Discussing the tomb of Srong-btsan-Gam-po, quoting,

"Inside there is a lion-throne (Son-gei-khri), upon which there is a Zans-chen-kha-sbyar<sup>40</sup> filled with pieces of jewels. In all other sections (reu-mig), there are copper pots (rdza-ma) (with) gold dust."

The use of gold by weight is recorded.

"I arrived and she gave me the seven ounces of gold. After that I gave a tenth of an ounce of gold to the yogin...to the mistress of the house I offered seven-tenths of an ounce. Then I offered the lama three ounces of gold..."

"...he bought gold with all our wealth and went to India with it. He brought back many books..."

"...But Lama Ngokpa is arriving with his collection of images, scriptures, stupas, gold, and turquoise..."

The "Blue Annals" records the use of gold srans as payment for services and goods from the 11th to the 15th century. The excerpts are too numerous to be included here, lists many excerpts which records the use of gold srans. The sran is a unit of weight equivalent to about an ounce. The shape and form of these gold pieces were not indicated.<sup>8</sup>

Most metals used in Tibet are imported from India and China. Mining is confined to the surface soil in the belief that the metals will disappear if their roots were extracted. It is also believed that the earth spirits will resent the intrusion and bring disaster upon the country. Harrer writes that the people of Central Tibet dig for gold with gazelle horns in the Chang Tang, taking only what is absolutely necessary for fear of reprisals from the earth spirits<sup>6</sup>. The Franciscan monk William of Rubruck, whose journey during the years AD 1253-1255 preceded that of Marco Polo, made a similar observation.

"These people have much gold in their country, so that when one lacks gold he digs till he finds it, and he only takes so much as he requires and puts the rest back in the ground; for it he puts it in a treasury or coffer, he believes that God would take away from them that which is in the ground<sup>7</sup>.

There seems, however, to be no prejudice against gold washing, and since the sands of almost every stream hold quantities of the precious metal, this is a common occupation of the nomads. The process, as observed by Rockhill, is as follows.

"...the gravel was shoveled into a wooden trough, about four feet long and six or eight inches broad at the lower end; through it a little stream of water was allowed to flow. Across the lower end of the trough was stretched a thick woolen rag through which the water escaped. The mud and gravel in the trough were stirred up with a stick and gently removed with the hand, while the particles of gold set free were caught in the rag. Every now and then the rag was removed, the gold collected, and put in a yak horn snuff bottle...<sup>8</sup>"

It appears that most of this gold dust is exported to China and India. During the 1890's Rockhill wrote that all gold from the Litang district was brought to Tachienlu (now Kangting) and traded for from fifteen to sixteen times its weight in silver<sup>9</sup>.

Recorded exchange of gifts as documented in the 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography

The Emperor gave me (sic. 5th Dalai Lama) on the 18th day (of the 2nd Hor month (17 March 1653) sacrificial offerings made of 50 srans of gold; 500 srans of gold; tea-churns of silver and 8 bowls; 10,000 srans of silver; a silver pot made of 1,000 srans of silver; 1,000 rolls of clothing; 10 golden saddles; 10 tiger skins. The Emperor's mother gave me 100 srans of gold; 1,000 srans of silver; and 100 rolls of cloth.

The Emperor gave to my officials; 3 lumps of silver each worth 50 silver coins (Ina-beu-ma); silver coins, etc. (on 11th March, 1653).

When the Dalai Lama went to China he distributed the following among other items:

15 srans of silver to each person in the encampment; 19,900 square pieces of cloth. 372 srans of gold; 25,300 srans of silver; 166 srans of pearls, etc; and 71,700 khals of barley; 55,600 mkhar-khals of tea, butter, salt, curds, flour, milk, rice, etc. (1 sran = 1 ounce, 1 zo = 1/10th of an ounce; 1 khal = 1 bushel).

The seat of the secular government of the *Dga'-ldan*. *Dga'-ldan* Palace in 'Bras-spuns monastery is to be distinguished from *Dga'-ldan* monastery.

On the occasion when the Panchen Lama "took his seat on the chair in the grand worship hall," The Emperor of China, the Dalai Lama, the King of Tibet Miwan Sonam-tob and the different Mongol princes sent him presents; more than 30,000 pieces of horse-hoof shaped silver, 5,000 gold sans, 10,000 pieces of satin, and 20 porters' loads of precious stones, such as turquoise, corals, cat's eyes, onyx, amber and pearls.

When the Panchen Lama visited China in AD 1779 he gave the Emperor of China among other presents 1,000 gold sans ( a gold san is equivalent to 60 rupees) the Emperor presented to the Panchen Lama among other presents, 500 gold sans.

Tibet has from time immemorial, been the resort of merchants. Samuel Turner's letter of Hon Warren Hastings from Patna, 2d March 1784, deals with the trade of Tibet with her neighbors.

"The returns have invariably been made in gold dust, silver, tincal, and musk; the value of which bears proportion to the quantity in the market. The value of gold and silver in Tibet, is very variable, depending on the product of the former from the mines. At this time, a pootree (bulse) of golddust sells for twenty-one indermillees (A base coin struck in Nipal of the value of about one-third of a rupee, and current in Tibet where local prejudices prevent the establishment of a mint). A few years ago, during the prevalence of an excessive drought, the earth, by cracking an opening in uncommon chasms, is said to have discovered such an abundance of gold, that the quantity collected, reduced the price of a pootree, to nine indermillees.

"Those articles of trade which are next in importance, amongst the natural productions of Tibet, are musk, tincal, goat's hair and rock salt. The first of these

articles used to be transported through the country of the Choubeis Rajas, and through Nipal, by way of Benares, into the upper parts of Hindostan, and the dominions of the Marrattas".

"Bootan, Nipal, Bengal, and Hindostan are supplied with tincal from Tibet."

"The hair of the goats is carried to Cashmeer."

"The demand for salt, is in consumption of Nipal and Bootan."

Translation of a letter from the Regent of Teshoo Lama to Warren Hastings, received 12th Feb. 1782 Journey of Teshoo Lama from Tibet to China (AD 1779) records the tremendous presents that the Emperor of China presented to the Lama.

At the place Lanjoo, the chief named Choondaw presented 1,000 pieces of brocadean 40,000 illeung of silver.

At the place called Tawbunkaykaw, the Lama received among other things 400 illeung in silver.

At the place called Tolownoor, the lama received 40,000 illeung of silver and other customary presents.

The lama meets the Emperor who presents the lama with 100,000 taunk, or illeung of silver, 100 pieces of silk and others. Each servant of the lama was given 100 taunk in silver.

After the lama expired, the Emperor distributed silver to the amount of 4 lakhs (400,000) to the Khaseong, or holy men.

According to Boyle (who visited Tibet in AD 1774) the Tibetan Gold Mascal weighed about 1/8th of 1 3/4 oz. or about 6.2 grams. Also, small bags of gold dust, weighing about 7.5 or 8 Mashas circulated widely in Tibet and in the Tibetan border areas - a Masha (or 1/12th Tola) is approximately equivalent to 1 gram.

During the 17 years that the Polos were in China, they worked in the service of the Khan. Marco spent three years as a "governor" of Yangchow. He traveled extensively, took careful notes for his reports to the Khan. In his book he records details of a trip to southwestern China, Tibet (sic), Burma, and possibly Annam (Vietnam), areas on the fringes of Mongol control. In each of these regions with primitive economies, he records the forms of money used. In the area of southwestern China he calls Tibet he reports the use of coral and salt cakes. Further south he mentions the use of unstamped gold rods, gold by weight, cowry shells which he calls "porcelain sea shells." He gives the source of these shells variously as Indian and Malaya.

The salt cakes, recorded as money in Tibet and Yunnan provinces, though they were used as food when broken, were official money of the Mongol government. He describes their production and how they were stamped with the mark of the Great

Khan, whose officers were the only ones allowed to make them. He gives their value as two pence (which seems to be his way of saying two cash). Eighty salt cakes were valued at a saggio of gold (1 saggio = 1/6 ounce). He gives a value to the cowry shells of about one-eighth that. (He quotes 80 cowries to a saggio of silver and an 8:1 gold to silver ratio). "A curious illustration of the monetary value of fuel in this arctic region was the only available material, namely, Yak-dung, is a life necessity...owing to our telegraph wire having been out near Phari, a fine was inflicted on the town...of fifteen tons of cakes of this material was imposed ... so effectual was the fine, in this local coinage of the country, that they willingly paid half of it in Indian rupees, to escape parting with this invaluable article..."

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